MARYLAND

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

MARYLAND COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ANNAPOLIS, *February* 3, 1843.

At the Annual Meeting of this Society, held last evening, in the Senate chamber, John H. B. Latrobe, Esq., President of the Society, called the meeting to order.

Prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Winslow.

F. W. Brune, Jr., Esq., Secretary, read the Eleventh Annual Report of the Society.

William F. Giles, Esq., offered the following resolution, which he prefaced by giving an accurate and interesting history of the great success that had attended the Society's efforts in founding the Maryland Colony in Liberia; deprecated the idea of withholding the State's donation; and eloquently appealed in favour of the philanthropic object of the Society, in founding and populating that colony.

"*Resolved*, That the progress of the colonization enterprise, under the direction of the State Society, has been thus far highly satisfactory, and the continuance of the policy pursued by Maryland since the passage of the law of 1831, must ultimately redound to her lasting benefit and welfare, and to the happiness of her people."

Charles F. Mayer, Esq., being called to the chair—

J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., submitted the following resolution. Mr. L. pictured in a familiar and sympathetic manner, the obligation existing to foster and protect these emigrants.

"*Resolved*, That in the support of the colony of free coloured people from Maryland, on the coast of Africa, which this State and Society have thus far patronized: they are only discharging the duty which they owe to those who, relying upon their policy as shewn by their acts and legislation heretofore, have become the pioneers in a wilderness, which, through their means, will be made to 'blossom as the rose.'"

Richard Potts, Esq., offered the following, which he prefaced by a brief and pathetic eulogy upon the life and character of the deceased.

"*Resolved*, That this Society deeply deplore the death of Francis S. Key, Esq., as an ardent and most efficient friend of African colonization, whose untiring labours from the first organization of the scheme to the day of his death, have won for his memory the lasting praise of the friends of humanity and civilization."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The meeting was composed of numerous citizens and distinguished strangers.

A LETTER OF JOHN McDONOGH, ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION:

ADDRESSED TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW ORLEANS BULLETIN.

Messrs. Editors—In a piece wrote by me in June last, on the subject of sending away some of my black people to Africa, and published in your paper of the 24th of that month, I observed, "that the act of sending those people away, is in my case, one of simple honesty alone. I lay no claim, nor am I entitled to any credit or praise on the score of generosity. My meaning in the above assertion, I will explain, Messrs. Editors, through your paper, (should my leisure admit of it,) at some future time, and the rather, as it may perhaps be of service to the slave-holders of the state, to know, how one who has had much to do for forty years past, with the treatment of slaves, has succeeded in it. When they find from my experience, that they can send their whole gangs to Africa, every fifteen years, without the cost of a dollar to themselves, what master will refuse to do so much good, when it will cost him nothing in the doing of it, and afford him at the same time such high gratification, in knowing that he has contributed to the making many human beings happy. For my experience will show, that with a proper treatment of slaves, the gain from their extra labour, (that is, labour over and above that which slaves in general yield their owners,) in the course of that time—say fifteen years, will enable their masters to send them out, and purchase in Virginia or Maryland, with the gain made from said extra labour, a gang of equal number to replace them. In addition to which, what an amount of satisfaction, I would ask every humane master, would he not enjoy, in knowing that he was surrounded by friends, on whose faithfulness and fidelity he and his family can rely, under every possible contingency." In fulfilment then of said promise, I now undertake to explain the observation I then made, "That the act of sending those people away, is in my case, one of simple honesty alone;" and to set forth and show the mode I adopted and pursued, (after much experience and reflection on the subject) for many years in their treatment, and its results. Before commencing however, this long detail of treatment and its attending circumstances, I will promise to those who feel an interest in the subject, and will take the trouble to read this recital, that it is one of egotism throughout; it tells of what the master said and what he did, from the beginning of the chapter to its end—in this therefore I will be excused, it is what I promised, and there is but one way of telling the story to make it intelligible. To proceed then, and give you the plan which I laid down for myself, and have pursued for the last seventeen years, for the conduct and management of those I held in bondage, I have to observe, that having been at all times opposed to labouring on the Sabbath day, (except in cases of actual necessity,) one of my rules for their walk and guidance in life, always was, that they should never work on that holy day, prohibited as we were from so doing by the Divine law. A long experience however convinced me of the utter impossibility of carrying it out in practice by men held in bondage, and obliged to labour for their master six full days in the week; and I saw on reflection much to extenuate as to them, the offence against my rule. They were men, and stood in need of many little necessaries of life, not supplied by their master, and which they could obtain in no other way, but by labour on that day. I therefore had often to shut my eyes and not see the offence, though I knew my instructions on that head were not obeyed; and in consequence, after long and fruitless exertions (continued for many years,) to obtain obedience to that injunction, I determined to allow them the one-half of Saturday (say, Saturday, from mid-day until night,) to labour

for themselves, under a penalty well understood by them, of punishment for disobedience, (if they violated thereafter the Sabbath day,) and sale to some other master. From this time, which was about the year 1822, the Sabbath day was kept holy—church was regularly attended, forenoon and afternoon, (for I had a church built expressly for them on my own plantation, in which a pious neighbour occasionally preached on the Sabbath day, assisted by two or three of my own male slaves, who understood, preached, and expounded the scriptures passably well, and at times I read them a sermon myself,) and I perceived in a very short time, a remarkable change in their manners, conduct and life, in every respect for the better.

We proceeded on in this way, happy, prosperous and blessed in every respect by the Most High, for about three years, or until 1825, when seeing the amount of money which they gained by their Saturday afternoons' labour, (they in general laboured for myself, though they were permitted to labour for whom they pleased, giving the preference to their master, even at a less rate of wages, on whose honesty they could depend for payment, for they were paid as regularly as the night came,) in the long days of summer, I paid the men for their Saturday afternoons' labour, at the rate of 62½ cents per day, the women at the rate of 50 cents per day; in the short days of winter, I paid the men at the rate of 50 cents per day, the women 37½ cents per day, and the large boys and girls in proportion. I was led to calculate in what length of time, by labour, economy and perseverance in well-doing, they would be enabled to purchase the remaining 5½ days of the week, (seeing that they had a capital of their own, in the one-half of one day in each week to begin to trade on,) and by that means obtain freedom for themselves and children. In this estimate and calculation I soon satisfied myself, that it could be effected in the space of 14 to 15 years at the furthest. The next consideration with me was, "Is it my interest to assist them in its accomplishment, or can I by any means I can devise, make it to become my interest to assist them in obtaining their freedom in that time." This also required reflection and calculation. I went at it, and in a very short time from the clearest of all deductions was convinced; satisfied that it could be done; and that it was in every point of view in which the subject could be looked at and considered, my interest, (and more especially, if I took into view the considerations of satisfaction, pleasantness and happiness, which I should enjoy in tending to the happiness of others,) to do it. When thus satisfied that the project was good in itself, and worthy of trial for various solid reasons, I determined to lay my plan before them, and explain it in all its bearings, (that is, before some ten or twelve men and women; those men and women in whom the others had confidence, and looked up to at all times and in all situations, for their superior talents, capacity and virtues, for counsel and advice—for it is the same with the black as the white man: assemble together for the first time, twenty or fifty white men, a company of soldiers for instance, and within forty-eight hours after being brought together, though strangers to each other, the great majority will place their eyes on certain men among them, for their wisdom, courage and virtue, on whom they, unknowingly to one another, determine to look up to, as leaders or chiefs, to conduct, counsel and advise them.) This I did when church service was over, on a Sabbath afternoon, observing to them, that having their welfare and happiness in this world, as well as in the next, much at heart, I was in consequence, greatly desirous of serving them and their children: that in furtherance of those views and desires, I had a plan to propose to them, which, if you have confidence in the truth and honesty of your master, of his friendship for you, and sincere desire to serve you and do you good, (for except you have that confidence in him, and mutual

regard, friendship and esteem for him, there would be no use in saying a word more about it, or in attempting to carry out the plan I have to propose to you, for I notify you before hand, it cannot succeed, if the most unlimited confidence and esteem does not mutually exist, as well on the side of the master as of the servant,) and will from this day and hour, change the whole course of your lives, (though I acknowledge in justice to you all, that I have no particular charge to make against the morality of your past lives,) and walk in the love and fear of God. If you and your children will be faithful, honest, true, sober, economical, industrious, (not eye servants,) labouring day and night, considering the affairs and interest of your master as the affairs, concerns and interest of each, and every one of you individually, and all this, with a fixed determination to persevere in well-doing to the end, under every temptation that may assail you, and over every obstacle that may fall in your way, and will in every thing be ruled, directed and guided by me, I will then in that case, and under this full agreement and understanding between us, undertake so to manage your affairs, (by becoming your banker, the keeper of your gains, and of your accounts,) as to insure your freedom, and that of your children, with the blessing of the Most High, (viz: your freedom in Liberia, in the land of your fathers, a great and glorious land; for let it be understood between us, it is your freedom in Liberia that I contract for, for I would never consent to give freedom to a single individual among you, to remain on the same soil with the white man,) within the term, (according to my estimate and calculation,) of fifteen or sixteen years, or thereabouts, say a year or two sooner, or a year or two later. This will be effected in conformity to my plan and estimate, in the following manner, viz: The one-half of Saturday being already your own, (in consequence of my agreement with you, that no labour shall be done on the Sabbath-day, your first object will be to gain a sufficient sum of money to purchase the other half of Saturday, which is, the one-eleventh part of the time you have to labour for your master, and of consequence, the one-eleventh part of the value your master has put upon you, and which you have to pay him for your freedom. This I notify you will be the most difficult part of your undertaking, and take the longest time to accomplish, and is to be effected by labouring for me on Saturday afternoons, and leaving the amount of your labour in my hands to be husbanded up for you. By foregoing every thing yourselves, and drawing as little money as possible out of my hands, I calculate you will be able to accomplish it in about seven years; that once accomplished, and one whole day out of six your own, you will go on more easy and rapidly; indeed, that once effected, your success is certain; proceeding then on in your good work, you will be enabled easily, by your earnings on one entire day in each week to effect the purchase of another day of your time, in about four years. Now master and owner of two days in each week, you will be able in two years more to purchase another day, so that three days, or the one-half of your time, will be your own; in one and half years more you will be able to purchase another day, making four days your own; in one year more, another, or the fifth day; and in six months, the last day, or the whole of your time will be your own. Your gains in less than another year will suffice to free (added to what the youths will have gained in the meantime,) your children, and all will be accomplished. In the foregoing estimate, I calculate that you will draw from me occasionally, some small sums of money to furnish little necessaries you may need; but will remember when one draws, the whole of you, each individual must draw at the same time; the men an equal sum each; the women the three-fourths part each, of the sum drawn by the men. That you shall be estimated at fair and reasonable prices—say, the

men at six hundred dollars each—the women at four hundred and fifty, and the boys, girls and children in proportion. An account shall be opened at once on my books, and your valuations charged, without taking into account the increased value of the youth and children as they advance in age, and no child to be charged who shall be born after the commencement of this agreement; this, in some measure, as a counterbalance to an interest account, as none will be calculated or allowed you on the amount of your gains in my hands—that such men and women as have no children of their own, when they have worked out their prices, shall be held and obligated to work and assist in paying for the children of others, so that the whole company shall go on the same day on ship-board, and sail for your fatherland. That I expect and shall insist on a strict performance of your moral and religious duties in every respect, and church regularly attended by you, and your children, forenoon and afternoon on the Sabbath-day. That as I would not agree to keep an immoral or bad servant, or one whom I would be obliged to have chastised for offences, on any consideration; should any of you therefore commit crimes at any time, whilst serving under this agreement, he or she, shall be immediately put up at public sale, (their offences declared and made known,) and sold; and whatever money they had earned under this agreement, shall go to the benefit of the others in general. [I have now to state, that during the whole of the period in which they were labouring for themselves, under this agreement, I had to sell, for conduct I could not pardon, but two individuals; this should not be considered strange, looking at the situation in which they were placed, in the vicinage of such a city as New Orleans, and oftentimes within its bosom for months together.] I have now to observe, that their surprise and astonishment at such a proposal, (coming as it did, from a master who had unlimited legal power over them and their time,) expecting nothing of the kind, may be easily conceived—they gave their consent with tears of joy—declared the confidence they entertained of my truth, honesty and pure intentions to do them and their children good, and their willingness and determination to be guided in all things by me, and to make my will and my interest, (after the Divine will,) the study and rule of their lives. On separating, I told them to communicate my plan and proposals to their adult fellow-servants, male and female, and to say to them that none were bound or forced to come into the arrangement who had any objection to it—that such as did not wish to accept of it, should go on under the old regulations, and I requested one and all of them to consult together through the week, and to give me their final answer and determination on the next Sabbath in church, when it should be confirmed or abandoned, at the same time charging them as they valued my affection, to keep what I had said to them, (desirous as I was to avoid, by so doing, the making the slaves of other plantations unhappy or discontented,) in their own bosoms, and never to disclose it until after they should have left the country for Africa, to a living being on earth. Be content, said I to them, with the good you are about to receive, and keep the knowledge of it to yourselves. This, they promised me they would do, and which I believe they religiously did. On the next Sabbath-day I met them in church, and was told that they had informed all their fellow-servants of my views and intentions towards them—that they had well reflected through the past week on all that I had said to them; that they were at a loss for words to express their love and gratitude to me for what I had done, and was now desirous of doing for them and their children, that they had always looked on me in the light of a father, deeply interested in their welfare, that I was the only true friend they had on earth—that they accepted one and all of the proposals I had made them,

and were determined, with the assistance of the Most High, to a change of life, to live and walk in the Divine law; to be guided in all their worldly conduct, implicitly by my directions and counsel, and to fulfil with all the energy of their souls the agreement they had entered into, and taken with me. On this, I observed to them, that it was all well—that the contract and agreement was now concluded—that we would on both sides, master and servants, begin from that day, to execute and carry it out—that I would put down in writing all I had said to them, that no mistake might arise thereafter of what I had said, or what I had not said. That to put you however, more full in possession of my scheme for your benefit, to give you a more perfect understanding of it, (of the contract you are about to take on yourselves,) so that in the carrying of it out, complete success may attend it on both sides—that neither party, master nor slave, may be disappointed, I will inform you what I expect to realize, and how it is to be effected. *My object is your freedom and happiness in Liberia, without loss or the cost of a cent to myself, from sending you away, and conferring that boon, (as the humble instrument of the Most High,) on you and your children.* How, you will naturally inquire, is that to be done. I will tell you how it is to be done. There is but one way, one mode to effect it, that I can see, or devise, and that is by greater assiduity and exertions in the slave to his labour during the usual hours of day labour, and especially by extra hours of labour before day in the morning, and after night in the evening. One hour after night in the evening, and one hour before day in the morning, would be two hours extra in twenty-four hours, which would be the one-sixth part more of time devoted to labour than is generally demanded of the slave, which is equivalent to two years and a half additional labour in fifteen years. Two hours extra labour before day in the morning, and two hours after night in the evening, would be four hours extra in every twenty-four hours or day, which would be the one-third part more of time devoted to labour than is generally demanded of the slave, which is equivalent to five entire years of additional and extra labour in fifteen years. Without a scheme of this kind, said I to them, by means of which you can effect a greater amount of labour in a given time, than you otherwise could do, I could not afford to send you out; for without it, my sending you to Liberia, would, under the agreement, and in the mode I propose, of permitting you to gain your freedom by labouring during the hours and time which belong to your master, and by that means paying him for your time, though it appears specious in itself, be, in reality, the making you a present of your time—the making you and your children a gift of your freedom—for as the whole of your time belongs to your master, (the Sabbath-day excepted, on which holy day neither master nor servant is permitted to labour,) if he was to permit you to work on a certain part of it, to make money to purchase your freedom, he would, in reality, in so doing, make you a gift of your freedom, which few masters could afford to do. But in the mode which I propose, and now explain to you, that you may fully comprehend and understand it, (which is the contract and agreement you are now making, and taking on yourselves to perform,) your master will not make you a present of an hour of your time, and you in reality, will have gained and placed in his hands, previous to the going out free, a sum of money arising from your extra labour, fully sufficient to enable him to purchase an equal number of people with yourselves, man for man, woman for woman, and youth and child for youth and child, to take your place in the work of his farm, so that his work and revenue shall not be stopped or arrested for an hour, and to set you out with all things necessary in your new life and new undertaking; (should he think proper so to do,) much to your own advantage, respectability and happiness,

and to his own satisfaction and honour; for a humane master will delight in tending to the happiness of those whom the Most High has placed under his care, and who have served him truly and faithfully. The only difference and change, then, which this arrangement will make in the affairs of your master will be, that he will have the same number of new servants in the place and stead of his old and faithful ones, to do his work. You therefore now see, and fully understand, what my scheme for your benefit is. It is feasible and can be easily accomplished, while it will tend at the same time, to the happiness of your lives while carrying it out and putting it into execution. I repeat to you again, said I to them, that my plan is based on extra labour, that you must consider none (day or night,) too great for you to perform, remembering at the same time that it is not to be accomplished in a day, but will require years of perseverance in well-doing, to effect it. On my part, you may depend on my prudence, not to involve myself by speculation or otherwise, (with the Divine blessing,) so as to put it out of my power to carry out the agreement; and I will take care by keeping regular accounts of all your gains, and by instructions to my executors, in my last will and testament, (should it please Him in whose hands all things are, to take me from life before the full accomplishment of the scheme,) to have our agreement truly and fully executed, and justice rendered you, by selling you out as servants for time, and then, (after the expiration of your term of service,) seeing that you and your children are sent out to Liberia. To all this, they (the whole of the adults, men and women, no youth or child was present) lent an attentive ear; and again, with eyes streaming with tears, assured me of their full determination to devote their days and nights to the honour of God, the happiness of their children, and the carrying out the plan I had devised for their benefit. It now remains for me to state the results of the experiment. In less than six years the first half day was gained and paid for by them. In about four years, the next, or second day of the week, was paid for and their own. In about two and a quarter years, the next or third day, was paid for and made their own. In about fifteen months, the next, or fourth day, was theirs. In about a year, the next, or fifth day was gained and paid for; and, in about six months, the last, or sixth day of the week, became their own, and completed the purchase—effecting their freedom in about fourteen and a half years. After this, it took them somewhere about five months to labour, to pay the balance due on their children, added to what the youths, (boys and girls) had earned. If there appears any discrepancy in the period in which they effected the purchase of the different days for themselves, it is to be accounted for in their drawing more money at one period than at another, as they frequently did towards the last, after they had accomplished the purchase of two or three days, or their freedom would have been sooner accomplished. This took place, (the effecting of their freedom) in August, 1840, nearly two years since; at which time they would have taken their departure for Liberia, but as the Abolitionists of the Northern and Eastern States of our Union had occasioned much excitement in our State, not only among the owners of slaves, but among the slaves themselves, I did not consider it safe, or myself at liberty, (howeversomuch I desired it) as there was a considerable black population in the immediate neighbourhood of the residence of those my black people, to send them away. I therefore told them, without giving them the cause, that they must be satisfied to remain where they were until the proper time for their departure should arrive, with which they remained satisfied. So that they effected their freedom as above stated, in about fourteen years and a half; and the assertion I made in your Gazette of the 24th of June last, that "the act of sending those people

away is, in my case, one of simple honesty alone"—is explained in my having received in money from them, (or the equivalent of money,) the full price agreed on between us, for their freedom in Liberia. Some persons, Messrs. Editors, may now, perhaps, be disposed to say, why proceed in this roundabout way, this giving the one-half of Saturday, this keeping of accounts, this purchasing of day after day, &c. &c.? It is all unnecessary, and their working to gain their time an illusion—that the whole of the time of the slave belongs to, and is the time of the master—that the master can compel his labour, without freeing his slave, &c. I admit the truth of the latter part of the assertion that the time and labour of the slave belongs of right to the master, but deny that the first is illusory, as respects either one or the other, the master or his slave; for it is founded in the moral constitution of man. Without hope, a certain something in the future for him to look forward and aspire to, man would be nothing. Deprive him of that inspiriting faculty of soul, and he would grovel in the dust as a brute. But, say they, why not promise him at once, freedom after fifteen years service? To this, I have many and strong objections. In that mode his freedom would appear the gift of his master, who might repent and retract, (as the slave would fear,) of his promise. In the other mode, the slave would have gained it—have purchased and paid his master for it. Hope would be kept alive in his bosom—he would have a goal in view, continually urging him on to faithfulness, fidelity, truth, industry, economy, and every virtue and good work. The observations of a great and good man, (with whom I was in correspondence, made to me in one of his letters some years since,) to whom I had faintly intimated the plan I was pursuing with my people, are so descriptive of their situation, feelings, and conduct, that I will give an extract from it. "Your plan, Dear Sir, as I infer from what you have intimated to me, calls into action a higher and nobler motive than servile fear. It holds out a reward to the obedient, and the faithful. Such a motive can seldom fail. It is the impulsive cause of all good conduct; hence we find it holding a conspicuous place in that system of government which the Almighty exercised over the ancient Israelites: 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land.' And the same motive to christian conduct, is presented under the christian dispensation: 'Be thou faithful until death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' From the foregoing summary, it will be seen, that the basis of my plan for their success and government, was RELIGION—a desire to awaken in their bosoms the love of the Divinity. Hope and trust in Him, once born in their souls, would produce its fruit—a determination to obedience, labour, order, economy, and all good works. That such was the result, and such the impulsive cause of their true and faithful conduct, is shown. Its effects on the interest of their master, his happiness, and their own happiness, is also seen and shown. They have now sailed for Liberia, the land of their fathers; and I can say with truth, and heartfelt satisfaction, that a more virtuous people do not exist in any community; and I pray the Most High to continue unto them the blessings which he never ceased to shower down on their heads, whilst under my roof.

I will further observe, that from the day on which I made the agreement with them (notwithstanding they had, at all times previous thereto, been a well-disposed, and orderly people,) an entire change appeared to come over them; they were no longer apparently the same people; a sedateness, a care, an economy, an industry, took possession of them, to which there seemed no bounds, but in their physical strength. They were never tired of labouring, and seemed as though they could never effect enough. They became temperate, moral, religious, setting an example of innocent and

unoffending lives to the world around them, which was seen and admired by all. The result of my experiment in a pecuniary point of view, as relates to myself, is not one of the least surprising of its features, and is this, that in a space of about sixteen years, which those people served me, since making the agreement with them, they have gained for me, in addition to having performed more, and better labour than slaves ordinarily perform, in the usual time of labouring, a sum of money, (including the sum they appear to have paid me, in the purchase of their time,) which will enable me to go to Virginia, or Carolina, and purchase a gang of people, of nearly double the number of those I have sent away. This I state from an account kept by me, showing the amount and nature of their extra work and labour, which I am ready to attest to, in the most solemn manner, at any time.

Previous to entering into the agreement with these people, I calculated, (and my estimate and calculation has been fully realized, and more than realized to me, in the result,) that their labour would be given, with all the energy of heart, soul, and physical powers; that they would in consequence, accomplish more labour in a given time, than the same number of people would, in ordinary circumstances; and that in addition, they would labour some two, three, or four hours, morning and night, in the twenty-four hours of the day, more, than other slaves were in the habit of doing, or would do. To set forth and show the spirit that actuated and filled their souls, (in relation to their worldly concerns) during the whole time they were operating under this agreement, I will state in the sequel to this some circumstances known here, to hundreds of our most respectable citizens.

If the planters of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, whose lands are worn out, would entrust their slaves to the younger male branches of their families, to bring here, into our state, to cultivate the richest alluvial soils in the world, they would be enabled, (under such an agreement with their slaves as I have pointed out above,) every fifteen years,—after gaining by their extra labour, the value of their entire gangs, making large revenues, and passing happy lives; for I can say with great truth, that the last sixteen years of mine, passed as they have been, in peace, and without anxiety, in the midst of those people, have been among the most happy of my life; for the very knowledge that I was surrounded by those who looked upon me in the light of a friend and father, and who would willingly at any time have periled their own lives, to have saved mine, if necessary, gave peace and serenity to the mind,—to send their entire gangs to Liberia without a cost of a dollar to themselves. Besides which, to bring their slaves into this state, and keep them here fifteen years, would be an act of humanity, as it would inure them to a climate very analagous to that of Africa, and they would run no risk to their health, or lives, when afterwards settling in Liberia. I will now state, that to carry out this plan with complete success, it is all important that the slave has full and entire confidence in his master; he must know, and be convinced, that his master is his friend, and well-wisher; that he is true, sincere and honest. Without this confidence of the slave in his master, I at once confess, the plan could not be carried out with success. It would be in vain for a master to attempt it, whose character was known for duplicity, untruth, dishonesty, cruelty, &c. &c.; he would not succeed in it; for no one is better acquainted with the master than the slave himself. To insure the success of the plan in all its parts, I will say also to such masters as feel an interest in the happiness of their black people, and will attempt to execute and carry it out, neglect not religious instruction to your people, for religion must be combined with the plan, and walk hand in hand with it. To encourage them in the exe-

cution and carrying out of their engagement, I showed them every six months, or twice a year, their accounts, on my books, and informed them of its state, their success, and the sum of money they had gained, and which was in my hands, standing to their credit of their accounts. This proceeding on my part, appeared to instil, as it were, new life into them, to afford them great satisfaction; it was a proof also to them of the interest I took, and felt in their affairs. The legislatures of our different slave states, might by the enactment of laws on the subject, greatly assist and protect the interest of the slave. I do not mean by forcing the master to make such arrangements, or to come to such an understanding with their slaves; but in the event of misfortune, or bankruptcy in the master or mistress, whose slaves had been working under such an arrangement made with them, that the master or mistress, might be permitted to prove, on his or her oath, in a court of justice, that such an agreement existed between him, or her, and their slaves; and that they (the slaves) had been working under said agreement, for such, or such a length of time; that such a sum of money had been gained by them, towards their freedom, &c. &c. By which means, the slaves, if seized for debt, could only be sold for a certain time, of sufficient duration, after a legal estimation, for the purpose of paying, and liquidating the balance due from them, (the slaves) on themselves; well understood, that such enactments should be made by the different legislatures, under the express condition, that the slaves were not to remain in the United States, but to remove, or to be removed, to Liberia, in Africa, so soon as the time of service for which they were sold, should have expired. If on the other hand, the master or mistress of slaves, who had of their own free will entered into such an agreement with their slaves, should die previous to the slaves having acquired the right to emigrate to Liberia, under the agreement they had made to labour for their freedom, the slaves should be protected by law, and permitted to prove in a court of justice, by one or more disinterested white witnesses, who had heard it from the mouth of the master or mistress of the slaves, the amount they had already gained under the agreement, and they should then be sold as servants for time, to pay the balance due from them, the said slaves, and then forced to emigrate to Liberia.

I will now say a few words relative to my general mode of treating those people. They were lodged in warm and comfortable houses, fed with good salt provisions and corn bread, with a plenty of garden vegetables cooked with pork, clothed with strong, durable clothing, according to the season: a ration of molasses, and one of salt was allowed them weekly, and a little coffee and common tea, every six months; Christmas and New Year's presents, served to supply their little wants, and enable them to leave nearly every thing arising from their own labour, untouched in my hands. They kept hogs and fowls of their own, and cultivated what ground they needed, in corn and vegetables. In sickness I had as good care taken of them, as of myself, with good nurses to attend them. When they committed, or were charged with offences, I did not order an arbitrary punishment, but had them tried by their peers; I would summon a jury of five or six of the principal men, say to them, such a man, or such a woman, is charged with such, or such an offence; the witnesses I am told, are such, and such persons; summon them, hold your court, have him tried, and report to me your judgment, and the punishment to be inflicted. It was done all in due form; the court room was the church, the trial took place, and the person acquitted or condemned, the punishment awarded, (if condemned and found guilty,) was reported to me, and I generally found it necessary to modify it, in reference to leniency. If twenty lashes were awarded, I would say

to the judges who were the executors of the sentence, give ten lashes, and a moral lecture to the culprit, for the offence. It was done, the criminal acknowledged the justice of the punishment, promised better things for the future, and forgot not to be grateful to the master who had reduced the degree of punishment, and reinstated him in place and favour.

For upwards of twenty years I have had no white man over them as an overseer; one of themselves was their manager, or commander, who conducted, directed, and managed the others; nor would I myself have the time in six months to see in person what they were doing; though the commander would report to me nightly, what he had done through the day, and receive my instructions for the day following. They were besides, my men of business, enjoyed my confidence, were my clerks, transacted all my affairs, made purchases of materials, collected my rents, leased my houses, took care of my property, and effects of every kind, and that with an honesty and fidelity which was proof against every temptation. As I promised to state in the sequel, some circumstances that would go to show the spirit that animated and filled their souls, in executing and carrying out the agreement they had entered into with their master, and in what way the extra labour I have spoken of was performed by them, I have now to observe, that I have been looked on generally by the French planters on the side of the river opposite to New Orleans, (where I reside,) as, if not a very cruel, at least a very severe master, one who works his people late and early, for the whip was seldom or never heard on my plantation, never indeed, except to uphold and support good order and morality.

Some years since, a gentleman from one of the Eastern States, a friend of mine, met me in a street of New Orleans, on a Monday, and on stopping me, began to smile, saying that he had passed the day previous, the Sabbath, in the country a few leagues above my residence, on the right bank of the Mississippi, at the house of a rich sugar planter, who had given a party in honour of his arrival, and there had met at dinner, some twenty or thirty French gentlemen, (principally sugar planters of that side of the river,) and their ladies; that at dinner, the conversation turned on planting, crops, and slavery, &c. &c. and he was asked what was generally thought by the inhabitants of the Eastern and Northern States, of the inhabitants of the South of the Union, the slave-holders. The gentleman replied, among other observations, that the French planters of Louisiana were looked upon generally by the Americans of the north, as very severe, and even cruel masters in the treatment of their slaves, much more so even than the planters of Louisiana of English ancestry. This brought from the gentlemen at table an assertion that some of the most severe masters of the State were to be found among the Anglo-Americans, (a term by which all Americans and strangers generally are called by the natives of Louisiana of French descent,) and as an instance, they cited you, mentioning your name, as one who obliged his people to work until midnight, and one and two o'clock in the morning, and for the truth of the assertion they appealed to one another when it was confirmed by them generally, both ladies and gentlemen, that they had known your black people often and often to have been at work (as they had seen them with their own eyes,) until that late hour of the night and morning, adding, that it was known to be a common thing with them to work late and early. The gentleman observed to the company, as he informed me, that the circumstances surprised and astonished him much, knowing me as he did, he had not supposed me capable of treating my people with such severity, &c. &c. They again assured him of the fact, and appealed to every inhabitant of the country between that and my residence, for its truth. Now, says my friend, the gentleman in question to

me, I merely mention those things to you, I do not inquire as to the truth of it, because I am convinced there is some mistake about it, something I do not understand. To this I observed, smiling, not so fast my friend, all that those ladies and gentlemen asserted, is true, and they have seen, as they informed you, with their own eyes, my people at work, often and often, at the hours they mentioned to you, but did they tell you at the same time, that they never saw them at work, but they were as merry as crickets, singing and joyful, making the whole neighbourhood vocal with their happiness; because, had they told you that, which would have been nothing but the truth, it would no doubt have convinced you, that there was no compulsion in their labouring. The only part of the assertion of those ladies and gentlemen which was incorrect, was that wherein they observed, that I obliged my slaves to work till midnight, and one and two o'clock in the morning. They are often working, I confess, until these hours; but I do not force them to work; it is of their own free will and accord. Then, observed the gentleman, you must pay them, I presume. I do not say, said I to him, what I do, further, than that there is no compulsion in their labouring; but I promise, that you shall know the story one day, if I am spared, (which he will, as I shall send him a copy of this.) We then separated, but I found the gentleman, I confess, very incredulous, (notwithstanding he knew something of my character,) as to slaves working of their own accord, without the compulsion of their master. The story is this: my residence is on the opposite side of the Mississippi, immediately in front of the centre of the city of New Orleans; the steam ferry which runs from one side of the river to the other, lands a short distance below my house. The French ladies and gentlemen residing above my house, on the right bank of the river, being very fond of balls and theatres, were in consequence, in the constant habit of passing and re-passing my house, to and from the city of New Orleans in their cariages, at all hours of the night and morning. Immediately below, and adjoining my residence, I had extensive establishments for the making of brick, engaged in working in which, those ladies and gentlemen saw, with their own eyes, often and often, my people, at the hours they mentioned, which explains why they considered me a severe master. I have to observe, that I was in the habit of never retiring to rest at night, until seeing my commander, and knowing that the people had come in from their work, (for I have laboured myself day and night through a long life, and shall continue so to do to its close,) and often and often, when the clock would strike 10, and 11, I would say to a servent of the house, (not having seen the commander,) have the people come in from their work? and he would reply, No Sir, I see bonfires in the brick yard; they have not yet finished their work. I would then say to him, go out and ask the commander what keeps him out so late, when he would return to me, saying, Sir, the commander says there is some thirty or forty thousand bricks out, the weather looks like rain, and he must get them in and save them, or they will be lost. Satisfied with this statement, I have waited until midnight, and sent out again; the same answer returned; again at 1 o'clock in the morning, the same answer; they singing the whole time, that they might be heard over the neighbourhood. At 2 o'clock I have sent out to him with positive orders to break off work, and bring his people in, even if the bricks should be lost—that I would not permit them to work any longer—when in would come the commander, (and likely not at all pleased,) saying, Sir, if you had let us gone on an hour or two longer, we should have saved all our brick, which I fear we may lose. When I have had to console him by telling him, you cannot work all night, it is very late now, the people must have rest. This will serve to show, how the spirit worked within

them, and after retiring to bed and rest, I have known them hundreds of times, on an appearance of rain, to arise and go out to work, at all hours of the night and morning. I will now give another instance, (I could relate hundreds,) going to show the effect of that hope, that charm of man's existence, "Liberty," on the life, and actions of those people. Some years since, some 20 or 30 of those people were engaged in erecting some extensive brick ware-houses on Julia street, in New Orleans, (for they were excellent mechanics of various trades, and were in the habit of making brick, purchasing shells and burning lime, sawing timber, and then taking the materials when made, and building them up into fine houses, on both sides of the river, for their master,) near to the residence of Edward E. Parker, Esq. one of our most wealthy and respectable citizens, a gentleman who was in the habit of building very extensively himself in the city. Meeting Mr. Parker on a certain day in a street of New Orleans, I was accosted, and asked, whether I would sell him a certain black man named Jim, or James; having several men by that name, I enquired which James, when he observed, the one who was at the head of the brick layers, who were erecting those ware-houses on Julia street, near to his (Mr. Parker's) residence. I replied to him, no, that I was not in the habit of selling people, that I purchased occasionally, but never sold. Mr. Parker then observed, that he wished I would depart in the present instance from my general rule, and agree to sell him that man; that he was very desirous of possessing him; that as he was erecting several buildings, the man would suit him, and that he would give a good price for him. I again said to him, that the man was not for sale, and was about to leave him, when he observed: could you not be tempted, Sir, to sell him? I will give you $2,500 for him, in cash. I told Mr. Parker it did not tempt me, and we separated. A week or two thereafter, I met Mr. Parker again, and was again accosted on the same subject, with, do, Mr. McDonogh, sell me that man; I will give you $3000 for him. Again I made him the same answer, that he was not for sale. Again and again, we met in the streets, and each time the same request, by raising the offer of price at each interview, until at last, Mr. Parker informed me, that he would pay me $5000 in cash for him. Feeling at length a little vexed, at those repeated demands, I said to Mr. Parker, though you are a very rich man, Sir, your whole fortune could not purchase that man; not that he is worth it, or worth more than any other man, or any of the others; but because he is not to be sold. Mr. Parker finding at length, from the refusal of such a large sum of money for him, that there was no hope of obtaining him, observed to me, well, then, Mr. McDonogh, seeing now that you will not sell him at any price, tell me what kind of people are those of yours? to which I replied how so, Mr. Parker? I suppose they are like other men; flesh and blood, like you and myself; when he replied, why, Sir, I have never seen such people; building as they are, next door to my residence, I see, and have my eye on them from morning till night. You are never there, for I have never met you, or seen you once at the building; tell me, Sir, said he, where do those people of yours live? do they cross the river morning and night? I informed him that they lived on the opposite side of the river, where I lived myself, and crossed it to their work, when working in New Orleans, night and morning, except when stormy, (which happened very seldom,) when I did not permit them to cross it, to endanger their lives; at such time, they remained at home, or in the city. Why, Sir, said he, I am an early riser, getting up before day; and do you think that I am not awoke every morning of my life, by the noise of their trowels, at work, and their singing and noise, before day; and do you suppose, Sir, that they stop or leave off work at sun set? No Sir; but they work as long

as they can see to lay brick, and then carry up brick and mortar, for an hour or two afterwards, to be ahead of their work the next morning. And again, Sir, do you think they walk at their work? No Sir; they run all day. You see, Sir, said he, those immensely long ladders, five stories in height; do you suppose they walk up them? No Sir; they run up and down them like monkeys, the whole day long. I never saw such people as those, Sir, I do not know what to make of them; was there a white man over them with a whip in his hand, all day, why then I should see and understand the cause of their running, and incessant labour; but I cannot comprehend it, Sir; there is something in it, Sir—there is something in it. Great man, Sir, that Jim—great man, Sir, should like to own him, Sir, should like to own him. After having laughed very heartily at the observations of Mr. Parker, for it was all truth, every word of it, I informed him that there was a secret about it, which I would disclose to him some day, and we separated.

Now, Mr. Parker imputed the conduct of these people, (for I have given the very words and expressions he used, and he is alive, hearty and well in New Orleans, and can be spoken to, by any one interested in the subject,) to the head man who conducted them, and in consequence, impressed with that belief, offered me five thousand dollars for him; but Mr. Parker knew not the stimulus that acted on the heart of each, and every one of them; that it was the whole body of them that moved together as one mind; not one alone, the head man as he supposed. In closing this statement, I will say a few words to show what the attachment of people similarly situated, slaves, will be to a master who treats them justly. The ship on which they sailed for Africa, laid opposite my house, in the Mississippi, at the bank of the river; I had taken my leave of them on their going on board the ship, on Friday evening, the day previous to her sailing, in my house. The scene which then took place, I will not attempt to describe, it can never be erased from my memory. Though standing in need on the occasion, of consolation myself, in bidding a last farewell on earth, to those who had so many claims on my affection, and who had been round and about me for such a long series of years, I had to administer it to them, who stood in the greater need of it. To tell them that the separation was but for a brief period of time; that we should meet again I trusted, in a better and happier state; to charge them to gird up their loins, and play the man valiantly, in their determination to enter their own canaan, and to remember, that there was still another and final separation from all things earthly, which they had to sustain and encounter; to meet, and be prepared for which, they must persevere in well-doing to the end; that their lamps must be kept well trimmed, and their lights burning.

On Saturday morning, the Rev. Mr. McLain, the Agent of the American Colonization Society, (who took a deep interest in all that concerned this people,) crossed the river to despatch the ship, and see them take their departure, which took place about 8 o'clock in the morning of that day, the 11th of June. After seeing them off, (the ship was towed by a steamer,) Mr. McLain came into my house, as I was expecting him to breakfast, and on seeing him much affected in his manner, (a tear standing in his eye,) I inquired if anything had taken place to give him pain; to which he replied, "Oh, Sir, it was an affecting sight to see them depart. They were all on the deck of the ship, and your servants who have not gone, where on the shore, bidding them farewell, when from every tongue on board the ship, I heard the charge to those on shore, Fanny, take care of our master; James, take care of our master; take care of our master, as you love us, and hope to meet us in heaven, take care of our beloved master." Which ejaculations, said he, continued until they were out of hearing. This would appear

to reverse the general course of things. It is the master or mistress who is heard, when about to make a voyage, recommending their servants to the care of some confidential person; but here were the servants recommending their master to the care of other servants.

I have now, gentlemen Editors, fulfilled my promise, and related the experience I have had in the management of slaves. Should it induce but one planter in the state to try the mode I pursued, so much to my own satisfaction and pecuniary advantage, and meet with the same success, which has attended my attempt, I shall consider the time it has cost in giving the relation, well spent, and myself fully repaid.

With great respect, I am, gentlemen,

Your friend and ob't servant,

JOHN McDONOGH.

McDONOGH, *opposite New Orleans, July 10th*, 1842.

(From the Presbyterian.)

SELF-TAUGHT MAN.

Mr. Editor,—Having attended a meeting of the Synod of Alabama, which closed its sessions on Monday evening, January 23d, in the city of Mobile, I hasten to inform you of some interesting proceedings of this body. Extracts of the minutes were directed to be forwarded to you for publication, and therefore it will be unnecessary for me to mention the various items of business, which claimed the attention of the Synod. But there was one subject acted upon, which so interested my feelings, that I suppose an account of it will be interesting to you and to the public. It appears, that there is within the bounds of the Synod, a coloured man of extraordinary character, whom the Synod resolved to purchase from his master, (in case he could be obtained for a reasonable price,) with the view of sending him to Liberia as a missionary.

The man alluded to, is a member of the Presbyterian church, in good and regular standing, and has the confidence of all who know him. His wife is also a member of the same church. But what is remarkable in the case is, that he is a classical scholar, and wholly self-taught.

He is a blacksmith; and it was stated on the floor of Synod, by members, and others, who knew him, that he first learned the letters of the alphabet, by inducing his master's children and others, to make the letters, one at a time on the door of his shop; in this way he familiarized himself with the letters, and their names. He then learned to put them together and make words, and soon was able to read. He then commenced the study of arithmetic, and then English grammar and geography. It was also stated that he is now able to read the Greek Testament with ease, has some knowledge of the Latin language, and even commenced the study of the Hebrew language, but relinquished it in consequence of not having suitable books. He is now studying Dwight's Theology, and was examined in the first volume by his pastor, who stated that he stood a good examination. It was also stated that he was a man of devoted piety, and remarkable humility;—that he studied at night till eleven or twelve o'clock, and that intelligent lawyers had stated, that when conversing with him, they felt themselves in the presence of their equal. He is between thirty and thirty-five years of age, and is willing to go out as a missionary, to Africa, under the Assembly's Board.

It was communicated to the Synod, by Rev. R. S. Finley, who had corresponded with Mr. Lowrie on the subject, that the Board were willing to send him out as a teacher in a high school, which they contemplate estab-

lishing in Liberia, for the purpose of educating teachers, and preachers for Africa. His mechanical genius, his knowledge as a blacksmith, as also his scholarship and piety, peculiarly fit him for the station. I may also add, that the fact that he is accustomed to a southern climate, is another recommendation. It appears to me that Africa cannot be christianized without such a school; and God in his providence, seems to have raised up this man for the work. Past providences seem to indicate that white missionaries are not the kind for that field.

The history of this case has been so interesting to me, Mr. Editor, that I supposed it would be so to others, and therefore, I have taken the liberty to send you an account of it.

Great harmony and brotherly feeling appeared to prevail among the members of Synod. I was very favourably impressed, as to the piety and talents of the members as a body. VIATOR.

INTERESTING FACTS IN PHYSIOLOGY.—We find the following statement in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal:

1st. That the longevity of the pure Africans is greater than that of the inhabitants of any other portion of the globe.

2d. That Mulattoes, i. e. those born of parents, one being African and the other Caucassian or white, are decidedly the shortest lived of the human race.

3d. That Mulattoes are no more liable to die under the age of 25, than the whites or blacks; but from 25 to 40, their deaths are as 10 to 1 of either the whites or blacks between those ages—from 40 to 55, 50 to 1—and from 55 to 60, 100 to 1.

4th. That the mortality of the free people of colour, in the United States, is more than 100 per cent. greater than that of the slaves.

5th. That those of unmixed African extraction in the "free States," are not more liable to sickness or premature death than the whites, of their rank and condition in society; but that the striking mortality so manifest among the free people of colour, is in every community and section of country invariably confined to the Mulattoes.

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